

# THE MILITANT

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## Gov't Incited Violence Against DuBois Clubs



Photo by Finer

**VICTIMS.** Larry Jarvis (left), David Barkin (center) and Eric Eisenberg tell TV and newspaper reporters how Brooklyn cops arrested them after they were attacked by hoodlums.

The attack by a right-wing mob and police on the Brooklyn, N.Y., chapter of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs and the dynamiting of the organization's national headquarters in San Francisco, Calif., came hard on the heels of a March 4 announcement by Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach that he was petitioning the Subversive Activities Control Board to order the DuBois Clubs to register as a "Communist front." There is no question that the two acts of violence were triggered by the witch-hunting action of the administration in Washington.

The attack on the Brooklyn DuBois Clubs came at the end of a press conference called for Saturday, March 5 by the organization to protest Katzenbach's action. As the press conference came to an end, a gang of hoodlums which had been mobilized outside the DuBois Clubs headquarters began throwing eggs, cans and other objects. Several policemen arrived.

Police grabbed Mike Markowitz when they saw his DuBois Club button, beat him and dragged him into a patrol car.

Larry Jarvis, a Negro youth singled out as a target by police and the mob, related how the cops "stood around and laughed while we were beaten." He said one cop yelled at him, "Dirty rotten Commie bastard, come out."

Joseph Popper, leader of the New York DuBois Clubs, said that the New York Daily News reporter on the scene spit at DuBois Clubs members and joined the mob in hurling obscene epithets at them.

The police did not arrest any of the attacking gang, but instead arrested six DuBois Club members. Arrested were David Barkin, Lawrence Stewart, Steven Paris, Larry Jarvis, Eric Eisenberg and an unidentified 14-year-old boy. All of the defendants are under 20.

Mayor Lindsay, who was elected with the support of many liberals and radicals, has yet to make any comment upon this brutal and undemocratic action by his police force, or to intervene to stop further prosecution of the victims of the attack.

At 2:35 a.m. Sunday morning, a blast shattered the national headquarters of the DuBois Clubs in San Francisco. The blast, heard miles away, broke every window pane on the block. The street was

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## Summary of Evidence In Malcolm X Murder Trial

— See page 3 —

## China's Nuclear Potential Is Used by U.S. as Pretext For Huge S.E. Asia Build-Up

By Dick Roberts

MARCH 8 — Defense Secretary McNamara's statement yesterday to the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy that China will be capable of launching a nuclear attack within two or three years is the latest in a deliberate series of administration moves to pave the ground for expanding the Vietnamese war to include much or all of southeast Asia — and possibly China, herself.

McNamara's statement sharply reverses the official administration position that it will take China "many years" to develop this nuclear power. It can hardly be considered an accident that this sudden shift in the official appraisal of China's strength followed by only one day the strong warning from Senator J. W. Fulbright that the administration's present policy of escalation could lead to a war with China.

Senator Fulbright, who is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is well placed to know the actual plans of the administration in southeast Asia. In this warning, he joins Senator Morse in indicating that a significant sector of Washington's policy-makers advocate a "pre-emptive" war with China, and that they may already have gained the upper hand in the determination of long-run U.S. policy.

In demonstrating the ever-present danger of triggering an "accidental" war with China by the present policy of escalation, Fulbright noted that the U.S. planes presently attacking north Vietnam are supersonic bombers. This means that a bombing attack 30 miles from the Chinese border — the closest reported bombing so far — is within less than one minute's flying time of that border.

In opposition to the administration's course, Fulbright presented a plan last week in the Senate which he argued would insure the continued "containment of Chinese expansion," but which at the same time would not contain the danger of war with China. This plan is the logical extension of the Gavin-Ridgway limited war concept which Fulbright defended in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's televised hearings.

According to the Fulbright plan, the United States would enlarge and expand its perimeter of military bases surrounding China, and at the same time "de-escalate" the war in Vietnam. Eventually, Fulbright believed, the U.S. would be in a position to force China to

accept a "neutralized" zone of buffer states in Asia.

"If we were to entrench ourselves in powerful bases on the coast of Vietnam," Fulbright stated, "the Chinese would be confronted by a perfectly credible threat of permanent American bases on their periphery. Knowing that we could remain in these bases indefinitely, they would have a powerful inducement to seek an agreement for the neutralization of southeast Asia."

"At the very least," he continued, "such a policy would convert a situation in which our enemies believe themselves to be wearing us down to one in which we, at supportable cost, would be wearing them down." (Congressional Record, March 1).

According to Fulbright's proposed strategy, the U.S. would be entirely justified in "indefinite" occupation of south Vietnam, as well as the neighboring countries of Thailand, Laos and Cambodia. Like South Korea, Fulbright views all these countries mainly as actual or potential U.S. military bases surrounding China. Their governments, whether feudal monarchies, military or civilian dictatorships, are secondary questions — provided only they "support" U.S. occupation.

The possibility of a levelling-off of U.S. troop commitment to southeast Asia is rejected out of hand, let alone the withdrawal of U.S. troops. "No responsible participants" in the Congressional debate, Fulbright commented, have advocated an "unconditional and disorderly withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam."

What is at present more important for the immediate future of the war, however — and what is largely unknown to the American

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Senator J. W. Fulbright

### Big Antiwar Actions Expected

## Int'l Days of Protest March 25-26

Demonstrations against the war in Vietnam are being planned for the International Days of Protest, March 25-26, in cities across the nation and in many other countries. The first International Days of Protest were Oct. 15-16.

The *Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter* has issued a printed call in support of the demonstrations, which are being organized on a local basis. Newsletter spokesmen predict that the March 25-26 actions will be larger and more militant than those of Oct. 15-16. What looks like the largest demonstration of them all is being organized in New York by the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee.

### Fifth Avenue March

The committee, representing virtually every radical, peace and antiwar group in the city, has called for a march down Fifth Avenue. Last Oct. 16, the committee

sponsored a march of over 25,000.

The New York march will gather at 12:30 p.m. from 91st to 94th Streets, between Fifth and Madison avenues. After marching to 72nd Street, the demonstration will turn into Central Park for a rally at the Mall. Speakers at the rally will include Linus Pauling, chemist and two-time Nobel Prize winner; Giorgio LaPira, former mayor of Florence, Italy; Donald Duncan, former member of the Special Forces in Vietnam; Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, a leader of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; Juan Mari Bras, Puerto Rican independence leader; Dave Dellinger, editor of *Liberation*; and Jerry Rubin of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee.

The Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy, which organized the national

teach-in last spring, has called for a week of teach-ins March 21-25. The first teach-in was held at the University of Michigan on March 24 last year.

### Matters of Concern

The teach-in group said, "Little has been heard [in the Congressional debate] of the very matters that most concern us in our own perspectives on Vietnam: matters concerning Vietnam as an area in social revolution, striving now for a generation or more for its independence and the chance to achieve material well-being; Vietnam as a land trampled and torn and exploited by outsiders for countless years, a process that most recently has tested the depths to which immorality can descend, especially as practiced by Americans, whose moral stance has never so loudly, frequently, or more justly been called into question."

# ...Build-Up in S.E. Asia

(Continued from Page 1)

people — is that Congress has just passed a bill paving the way for rapid escalation and expansion of the Vietnam conflict.

This bill is the Supplemental Military and Procurement Authorization for fiscal year 1966, which cleared the Senate on March 1 by a vote of 93 to 2 (Morse and Gruening opposing), and the House on the same day by a vote of 392 to 4 (Brown, Burton, Conyers and Ryan opposing).

This so-called supplemental appropriations bill has been presented to the American public as merely a continuation of the present war — providing "food and supplies to the GI's" — implying no change in the character of the war. In reality, however, it paves the way for drastic escalation.

There are two important sections in this respect: One section of the bill authorizes the construction of new military bases throughout southeast Asia, simply at the discretion of the Secretary of State; a second section provides for an increase in the active-duty strength of the armed forces by 450,000 men.

In a scathing indictment of the bill before it was passed by the overwhelming congressional vote, Senator Morse pointed out that it was necessary to consider the testimony of Defense Secretary McNamara to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee which were held in closed executive session:

"Preparations are being made," Morse revealed that McNamara told the committee, "and they are reflected in the fiscal 1966 supplement, for substantially increasing our deployments to south Vietnam and raising the rate of activity of our air units there."

"I don't believe that we would characterize our present military strategy or present tactics as holding actions," McNamara continued. "On the contrary, we are taking the offensive, seeking to find and destroy the enemy bases and forces, and we propose to continue to follow that strategy and tactic, using whatever forces are required to accomplish it . . ."

"The bill provides a blank check on American defense spending," Morse stated, "for expanding the war into Laos and Thailand . . . According to Secretary McNamara's testimony . . . about \$975 million of existing and new mili-



McNamara

tary construction money is to be spent in south Vietnam, the remaining \$666 million elsewhere in the general area."

Just one day after the bill was passed, U. S. authorities released the casualty figures for the first two months of 1966. From Jan. 1 to Feb. 26, 636 Americans were killed, 3,618 wounded, and 36 missing or captured, for a total of 4,290 casualties. This compares with the total casualties for all of 1965 of less than 7,000.

The second day after the bill was passed, McNamara announced in a Washington news conference that there were already 215,000 men in south Vietnam — 10,000 higher than the previous official estimates — and that 20,000 additional troops were on their way. On March 7, the U. S. military in Saigon announced that the bombing of north Vietnam had reached a new all-time high of over 150 raids per day.

The obvious truth about Vietnam is that Washington is rapidly proceeding to turn the war into a murderous slaughter-ground involving hundreds of thousands of American troops, and massive genocidal bombing of north and south Vietnam. Much of this escalation is taking place behind the backs of the American people, and is clouded over with distortions and outright lies about the real nature of the war and the Democratic administration's plans for the future of the war.

And not only are the American and Vietnamese people going to pay a horrible price for this war, but there is every possibility that Johnson and his cohorts are planning to include Thailand, Laos and eventually China in the bloody cauldron.

## Bernard Fall Estimates Cost for U.S. of Killing Guerrillas in Vietnam

In an article in the March 6 *New York Times Magazine*, entitled "And Still the Little Men of the Vietcong Keep Coming," Bernard Fall, an authority on Vietnam, describes the difficulties facing the U. S. forces there. He says that despite their enormously greater amount of power, the U. S. is having the same essential difficulties as the French did in crushing the guerrilla movement. To illustrate these difficulties, he writes:

" . . . if President Johnson were to receive the additional \$12.3 billion authorization for the current fiscal year to prosecute the war in Vietnam, making a total of \$15.8 billion for the year, the per capita expenditure for every captured or killed Vietcong in 1965 will have come to a substantial \$351,111. And if one remembers that 45,000 known Vietcong dead or captured no doubt includes a hefty percentage of bystanders caught in the crossfire but counted anyway, then a figure of a half-million dollars per Vietcong becomes plausible."

## Regime Tightening Up

# Soviet Writers Trial

By George Saunders

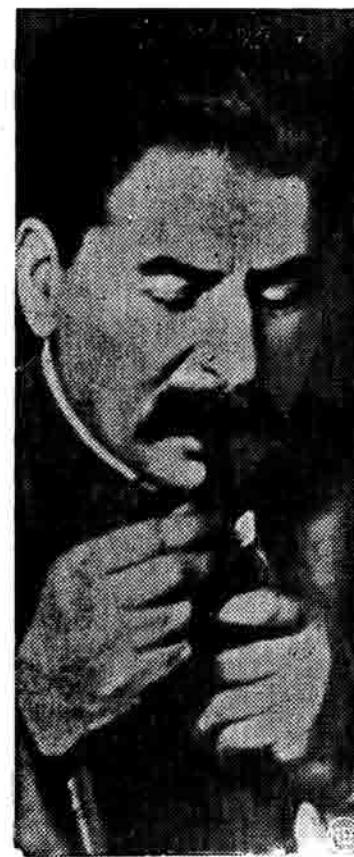
The Sinyavsky-Daniel case demonstrated that the Soviet bureaucracy feels a very sharp need to crack the whip over the intellectuals' heads, in spite of world opinion or even reactions within the world Communist movement. This crackdown is part of a general trend that seems to be growing stronger. And the question of the partial rehabilitation of Stalin and the methods he stood for is very much involved.

There is also a desire for tighter controls over the youth. For example, at the December 1965 plenum of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU), Sergei Pavlov, head of the Komsomol, the party youth organization, spoke for stronger police controls over the increasingly restive younger generation.

### Policy Shift

Stronger police methods would replace the Khrushchev "welfare" policy of bread-and-butter concession, or, rather, bread-and-butter promises, which has not worked well but has encouraged "dangerous" hopes and demands. The appropriate ideological justification would have to accompany a tightening of police powers. Thus, the Soviet leadership since Khrushchev's ouster has spoken of restoring the "historical balance," that is, recognizing the "good sides" of Stalin's rule.

The partial rehabilitation of Stalin would be viewed as a "healthy" development by sections of the bureaucracy who consider present-day centrifugal tendencies to be sheer disintegration. The Stalin cult was a great cement for holding society together under a monolithic officialdom in the "good old days." Abram Tertz (Sinyavsky's pen name), in his inimitable ironic style, gives an accurate enough description of the powerful social influence of delib-



Stalin

erate glorification of the "supreme leader." In *The Trial Begins* he describes the passing of the "Master" as follows:

"The Master was dead.

"The town seemed empty as a desert. You felt like sitting on your haunches, lifting up your head, and howling like a homeless dog.

"Dogs who have lost their masters stray about the earth and sniff the air in anguish. They never bark, they only growl. They keep their tails between their legs, or if they do wag them, they look as if they were crying.

## March by Women in Berkeley Demands End to Vietnam War

Over 350 women, many of them from the University of California Campus in Berkeley, marched from the campus to the Oakland Induction Center Feb. 23 to demand the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. The call for the march was issued by the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee.

Organized by Jaimey Allen, a full time staff member of the VDC, the all-woman march carried a twenty-foot banner at its head. A large number of high-

school students and some junior-high school students joined in the procession, which was co-sponsored by several anti-Vietnam war committees and women's peace groups.

At the end of the march, Bettina Aptheker and two other participants attempted to present the marcher demands to the commanding officer. A rally held outside the draft center was addressed by several speakers including Sahvanna Bello, a civic rights worker in Oakland, and Jaimey Allen.



ANTIWAR. Women marching on Oakland Army Induction Center to demand halt to U.S. war in Vietnam. Woman in wheel chair is 85. She lost a son in World War II.

"When they see a human being coming, they run aside and gaze at him longingly — is it he at last? — but they don't come near.

"They wait, they are forever waiting, gazing, longing: 'Come! Come and kick me! Come and beat me as much as you like (but not too hard, if you please)! Only come!'

"And I believe that he will come, just and chastising. He will make you squeal with pain and leap tugging at your chain. And you will crawl to him on your belly, and gaze into his eyes, and lay your tousled head on his knees. And he will pat it and laugh, and growl reassuringly in his cryptic master's dialect. And when he falls asleep, you'll guard his house and bark at the passers-by."

But the Master is gone, and "already you can hear a whine here and there: 'Let's live in freedom and enjoy ourselves like wolves' . . ."

There is a serious danger that the 23rd congress of the CPSU scheduled for this month will partly rehabilitate "the Master," according to Sandro Manotovani in the Feb. 25 *World Outlook*, a labor press service of revolutionary socialist viewpoint. "The victory of this line is not certain," he states, "but without doubt it is one of the various lines around which the present internal struggle in the CPSU is developing."

### Other Indication

The influence of this tendency may have been expressed in the Feb. 25 *Izvestia*, which praised Andrei Zhdanov. Zhdanov was Stalin's number-two man after World War II and presided over the postwar purges in literature and the arts, setting the stage for the slaughter of Soviet Jewish writers ("rootless cosmopolitans") in the early 1950's. In the de-Stalinization era, until now, his name and traditions had fallen under the same shadow as had his "genius" master.

The Sinyavsky-Daniel case, then, may be part of a trend toward "re-Stalinization." If such a hardening of the regime's repressive features takes place, it will undoubtedly temporarily slow down the construction of the anti-bureaucratic vanguard now in process of formation. But in the long run such a "solution" is doomed to failure. For it would not solve the complex problems of Soviet society, especially the severe economic ones. In the final analysis, it would only contribute to the radicalization of the masses.

## Antiwar Action Set in Chicago

CHICAGO — A mass parade to be followed by a rally against the war in Vietnam has been scheduled here for Saturday, March 26 under the auspices of the March 26 Arrangement Committee.

The plans call for the parade to proceed down State St. through the main business section in downtown Chicago, to the Colosseum where a rally will be held featuring Staughton Lynd and Julian Bond.

The demonstration is based upon the principle of non-exclusion, and every individual and organization is free to express their own ideas on how best to end the war.

One of the central demands in the demonstration call is "Let's Join Together To End the War in Vietnam Now and Bring Our Boys Home!" Tens of thousands of these calls will be distributed at colleges, high schools, shopping centers, factory gates and churches.

## Weekly Calendar

### BOSTON

WHICH WAY FOR THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT? Speaker: Farrell Dobbs, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party. Fri. March 18, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### CHICAGO

THE CIA EXPOSED. Speaker: Anthony Hall. Fri., March 18, 8 p.m. 302 South Canal St., Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### DETROIT

FROM THE PARIS COMMUNE TO THE MILITARY TAKEOVER IN GHANA. Speaker: Robert Fink. Fri., March 18, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### LOS ANGELES

THE CRISIS IN INDONESIA. Speaker: Leslie Evans, San Francisco Chairman, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., March 18, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### PHILADELPHIA

A MAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY. Hear Joe Johnson, socialist threatened with deportation, discuss his case. Sun., March 20, 8:15 p.m. Hotel Philadelphia, Broad and Vine Sts. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### NEW YORK

THE TRICONTINENTAL CONFERENCE: New Stage in Cuban Politics? An analysis by Harry Ring, staff writer, The Militant. Fri., March 11, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (at 18th St.). Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

## SUMMARY OF TESTIMONY

## Malcolm X Murder Trial

By Herman Porter

NEW YORK, March 8 — Testimony in the trial of the three men accused of assassinating Malcolm X ended March 4. On March 7 the defense attorneys summed up the case for each of their clients. Assistant District Attorney Vincent Dermody took all of today's court session to argue the case of the prosecution. All that remains before the jury is sent out tomorrow is Judge Charles Marks' charge to the jury.

At the opening of the prosecution's case on Jan. 21 Dermody summarized what he expected to prove in the trial. He has stuck to that story through thick and thin — despite the fact that one of the defendants made a surprise confession but gave a very different account of what happened. Dermody has tried to prove the following:

On Feb. 21, 1965 at about 3 p.m. Malcolm X started to address an audience of about 200 to 400 people in the Audubon Ballroom. The three defendants, all active members of the Black Muslims (Nation of Islam), were in the audience. Talmadge Hayer, also known as Thomas Hagan, and Norman (3X) Butler were seated together — Hayer with a .45 caliber automatic and Butler with a German Luger. They were seated in a middle row on the left facing the stage. Thomas (15X) Johnson was seated alone on the left side near the front with a sawed off shotgun, Dermody asserted.

By a prearranged plan, Hayer and Butler created a disturbance. Hayer stood up and shouted about Butler trying to pick his pocket. At this point Johnson approached the stage and fired point blank at Malcolm X. Hayer and Butler rushed to the stage and fired bullets into the prone body of Malcolm X, Dermody claimed.

Johnson dropped the shotgun and slipped away. Hayer and Butler were pursued out of the entrance at the rear of the auditorium, down a flight of stairs and on to the street. Hayer was shot in his leg on the way out and

caught on the street. Butler managed to escape, Dermody said.

The evidence that Hayer was one of the assassins is overwhelming. Not only was he shot and caught at the scene of the assassination and identified by many, but before the end of the defense presentation he withdrew his claim of innocence and took the stand to confess.

Even without his confession, the evidence against him was strong. The fact that police testified that he had a clip of .45 caliber bullets in his pocket when he was arrested, and that his thumb print was found on a crude smoke device set off at the rear of the Audubon Ballroom at the time of the shooting would have dispelled any lingering doubts in the minds of the jurors.

The prosecution presented 10 eyewitnesses altogether who claimed to have seen at least one of the defendants at the scene of the crime. Three of them identified only Hayer, and five others identified Hayer and at least one other defendant. Altogether, four identified Johnson, and two of them claimed to see a shotgun in his hand. Six identified Butler; and three of them said he had a pistol.

No material evidence was presented linking Butler or Johnson to the crime or even demonstrating that they were present at the Audubon Ballroom on Feb. 21, 1965 when Malcolm X was gunned down. The evidence against them was the testimony of the eyewitnesses.

Both Butler and Johnson were and are active Muslims who were well known to a number of Malcolm X's followers and guards. Malcolm X had charged that followers of Elijah Muhammad had tried to attack him several times. His followers were watching for and would most likely have noticed Muslims like Butler and Johnson. On the face of it, it is unlikely that Butler and Johnson would have entered the ballroom where Malcolm X was holding a meeting and not have been noticed, and eyewitness testimony against them would have to be solid and reliable to be believed.

Cary Thomas, the first eyewitness,

witness, claimed to see all three participating in the assassination or holding a gun, but the inconsistencies in his story were so great as to call his testimony into question. His testimony before the grand jury last March was very different from the story he told in court.

Though he claimed to have been a follower of Elijah Muhammad and then of Malcolm X, by his own testimony, Thomas didn't behave like a Muslim or understand anything about what Malcolm X stood for. He was placed in Bellevue Hospital for psychiatric examination in 1963, screaming, "I did not kill Jesus Christ." The evaluation was psychoneurosis.

Thomas was picked up by the police for questioning on March 2, 1965 and held in jail as a material witness from then on. While he was in civic jail he was charged with burning a mattress and indicted for arson. He was transferred from civic jail to a regular prison and has been held prisoner on this charge since then.

Charles Blackwell, the ninth eyewitness, was the only other one to identify all three defendants. He too told a completely different story to the grand jury, but he testified that he lied before the grand jury rather than in the court. His courtroom story corresponded with what the prosecution said it would prove, as did Cary Thomas' courtroom version.

Blackwell was the guard at the front of the stage on the left side, where the shooting took place. According to his courtroom testimony, Butler and Hayer ran by him to the stage where they shot Malcolm X. After they turned around and began running out, he "gave chase." It was at this point, incredibly enough, that he noticed a man "standing four or five rows back" who looked "startled" or "scared." Blackwell identified this man as Johnson, but he said he saw no gun in his hand. He claimed to have seen Johnson then run into the ladies' lounge.

The two other witnesses who identified Johnson are Vernal Temple, the second eyewitness, and Fred Williams, the eighth. Temple claimed to have recognized Johnson, whom he knew only as "15X," sitting at the back of the auditorium when he entered. He said the only time he had ever seen Johnson before that was at a Muslim convention in Chicago in 1962. He had a notoriously bad memory about everything else connected with that convention, and contradicted himself a number of times.

Williams, the eighth eyewitness, said he saw Johnson holding a shotgun. He also claimed to recognize Butler as one of the two men involved in a scuffle which preceded the shooting and served as a diversion. He saw no gun in Butler's hand, he said.

Williams was a friend of Blackwell's at the time and drove Blackwell to the Audubon Ballroom that day. His memory was very foggy about nearly everything but the events in the Audubon.

The fifth witness, Jasper Davis, identified only Butler. He said that Butler sat down next to him and they struck up a conversation. Then another man walked down the aisle and Butler called to him. That man sat next to Butler. The disturbance that preceded the shooting was created by these two men, Davis testified, though he was not sure which one of them did the shouting. Davis didn't notice either of them fire a gun, he said.

Davis picked Butler out of a police line-up of eight men. None of the others in the line-up fitted the description he had given the police of the man involved, Davis testified — though the description he gave was very general. Much of the identification of Butler centered around a gray tweed coat he was allegedly wearing. Only one



Scene at Malcolm X funeral

other man in the line-up wore a gray coat, said Davis, and it was not similar to the one Butler was wearing.

Edward DiPina, the third eyewitness, said he saw both Butler and Hayer shoot at the stage from where they stood up in the third row in the audience, and then turn around and run out. Cross-examination proved DiPina to be a very confused — if not senile — old man. For example, DiPina identified one of the defense attorneys as the detective who drove him to Bellevue Hospital to identify Hayer.

The seventh eyewitness, Ronald Timberlake, testified in secret — reporters and spectators were barred from the courtroom. But much of his testimony has since been made known. The secret witness told this story: He claimed to have knocked Butler down the stairs that lead from the auditorium to the entrance of the building. The crowd then held and pummeled Butler but he managed to get away. The witness claimed that Hayer, who had been shot in the leg by this time, jumped over Butler on his way down the stairs.

## Found Gun

The secret witness also testified that he retrieved a .45 caliber automatic on the stairs which he turned over to an FBI agent. That agent also testified secretly. This is the .45 that has been placed in evidence, and is allegedly the weapon that Hayer used.

The reason for this dubious tale about knocking Butler down the stairs became clear when the prosecution introduced in evidence a photo of Butler taken on Feb. 26, 1965, soon after he was arrested. It showed that Butler had a swollen ankle and both legs were discolored.

This photo was introduced during the cross-examination of one of Butler's defense witnesses, Dr. Kenneth Seslowe of Jacobi Hospital. Dr. Seslowe testified that Butler had been treated at the hospital by another doctor on Jan. 22, 1965 for infected wounds of both shins. He himself had treated Butler on the morning of Feb. 21, 1965, the day of the assassination. Butler complained of pain in the right leg, and the illness was diagnosed as superficial thrombophlebitis. Butler's leg was bandaged; he was given oral medication; and he was told to stay off his feet, keep his leg elevated and apply hot soaks to it.

Butler also had three witnesses who testified he was at home at the time of or shortly after the shooting. Butler's wife Theresa said he returned home about 12:55 p.m. and never left the house that day. Two sisters of Mosque No. 7, to which the Butlers belong, testified they telephoned and spoke with Butler between 3:05 and 3:30 p.m. shortly after hearing of the shooting on the radio.

Johnson's wife testified he was home all day on Feb. 21, 1965.

One of his neighbors, Edward Long, a Muslim, testified he visited Johnson at his home between 3:30 and 4:30 that day. Malcolm X is said to have been shot at about 3:05 or 3:10.

Two eyewitnesses testified for the defense. Ernest Greene, 21, a former Muslim, testified he saw the man who shot Malcolm X with a shotgun and described him as very stout, very dark and wearing a heavy beard. He said it was not Johnson, who is very light-skinned and wore no beard.

The most spectacular eyewitness was Talmadge Hayer, who confessed in order to testify that Butler and Johnson had nothing to do with the crime. He maintained that he and his accomplices were not Muslims but were hired killers. Hayer's confession was quite convincing, but the prosecution refused to believe him.

One of the most convincing things about Hayer's confession is that his account of how the crime was committed is plausible and corresponds to eyewitness accounts of the events that were never brought out in the trial.

For example, Hayer testified that he and his accomplice who both had pistols sat in the first row; the man with the shotgun sat in the fourth row; and the accomplice who created the diversion by standing and yelling sat somewhere behind the man with the shotgun.

According to an eyewitness account in the *Baltimore Afro-American* of Feb. 27, 1965 two or three men with guns rose from the first row while those that created the disturbance took no part in the shooting.

It is unlikely that the same men who were going to shoot Malcolm X first stood up and yelled to call attention to themselves.

Dermody still insists that Hayer is a Muslim trying to protect his alleged accomplices. But Dermody has not come close to proving that Hayer is a Muslim. Vernal Temple claimed to have seen Hayer in Mosque No. 7 in Harlem once in the summer of 1964 functioning as a guard and wearing a white armband with red letters "Muhammad." But he also testified that he stopped attending meetings in the mosque after Malcolm X was suspended — which was in late November 1963. Besides, according to testimony at the trial armbands are never worn in the mosque but were worn at a convention in Chicago.

It is hard to believe that the prosecution would be reduced to such flimsy testimony as the major evidence of Hayer's being a Muslim if he really were.

In my opinion the weight of evidence points to the conclusion that Johnson and Butler had nothing to do with the assassination and were not even at the Audubon Ballroom that day. It would be a monstrous miscarriage of justice if they are found "guilty beyond a reasonable doubt."

## Mixed Georgia Jury Gives 6 Years To Youth in Death of Club-Happy Cop

ELLAVILLE, Ga. — A historic jury trial here resulted in six-year prison sentences for two Negro youths charged with killing a white policeman.

Charlie Hunter, 15, was found guilty of voluntary manslaughter by a jury of 11 Negroes and one white. His brother, Willie Hunter, 19, pleaded guilty to the same charge. Both had been charged originally with first-degree murder.

It was believed to be the first time in the South that a predominantly Negro jury tried a case in which a Negro was accused of killing a white. Court officials had leaned over backward to avoid the charge of bias in jury selection.

The question of jury selection had been raised by C. B. King, Albany, attorney for the Hunters. For as far back as anyone could remember, no Negro had served on a trial jury in Schley County, although 56 percent of the people are Negro.

Testimony at Charlie Hunter's trial showed that he fatally shot Officer John Hardin while the latter was hitting Willie Hunter with a baseball bat.

The boy grabbed a pistol from the county jailer, who had already shot Willie Hunter in the finger with it. The melee took place after Hardin and the jailer

stopped the Hunters' automobile outside the Ellaville city limits.

After Charlie Hunter was found guilty of voluntary manslaughter, his brother noted that there were only three Negroes left on the panel for the jury that would try him. He also felt that those three would probably be removed by the prosecutor.

About this time, the prosecutor offered to allow Willie Hunter to plead guilty and receive the same sentence as his brother. Willie Hunter agreed to do so after talking with his family and attorneys.

The judge recommended that both brothers be sent to a training school rather than to prison. Charlie Hunter's attorneys will appeal his sentence. Funds to aid in the appeal should be sent to Hunter Defense Fund, P. O. Box 1641, Albany, Ga.

The outcome of the Hunter case was in sharp contrast to a similar case that began here 18 years ago. At that time, Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and two of her teenage sons were sentenced to die for killing a white man who had attacked Mrs. Ingram.

It took 15 years of worldwide protests finally to free the Ingrams. On the other hand, protests in advance of the Hunter trial helped to bring about the relatively mild sentences in this case.

# THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY  
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Monday, March 14, 1966

## "An Injury to One . . ."

It is good that a number of organizations and individuals have already declared their solidarity with the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs against government attack. The statement of support by Students for a Democratic Society was eminently correct in recalling the slogan of the early labor and radical movement: "An injury to one is an injury to all."

There are many ideological differences within the radical, antiwar and civil rights movements. Our differences with the views of the DuBois Clubs are not the least of these. Yet we consider it our duty to help rally maximum support to turn back this vicious government assault which has, as of this writing, already inspired the bombing in San Francisco and the police-hoodlum attack in Brooklyn.

The need for united defense of the DuBois Clubs should be obvious. The McCarran "foreign agents" Act, a product of the McCarthy era, is an unconstitutional tool for the frame-up of political dissenters. Thus far its use has been confined to the Communist Party and organizations the Justice Department asserts are "dominated" by it. Clearly, if its use is permitted to go unchecked the range of targets will inevitably be widened.

That is why, entirely apart from elementary considerations of simple justice, it is imperative that every organization and individual concerned with peace and social progress, every partisan of civil liberties and democratic rights, be rallied in defense of the DuBois Clubs. All of us have a very real stake in the fight.

## ... Attack on DuBois Clubs

(Continued from Page 1)

littered with broken glass and splinters of wood.

Police investigators report that the charge was placed beneath the porch of the two-story building. It is estimated that as many as 40 sticks of dynamite may have been used in the explosion.

"It was an absolute miracle that someone wasn't killed," said Butch Hallinan, legal counsel for the DuBois Clubs. "Each building on either side was wrecked by the explosion." Only six hours before the bombing, six youths had been meeting in the basement headquarters.

The Fifth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance was meeting in Chicago over the March 4-6 weekend. Upon learning of Katzenbach's attack on the DuBois Clubs, the convention sent the DuBois Clubs the following message:

"The Fifth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance expresses complete solidarity with you against the undemocratic attempt of United States Attorney General Katzenbach on March 4 to force your organization to register under the unconstitutional McCarran Act. The YSA offers its collaboration to defeat this threat to the democratic rights of all Americans especially our generation of fighting youth."

### Indicted Student

The YSA message was signed by Ralph Levitt, one of three YSA members who have been indicted under Indiana's Anti-Communism Act as a result of their YSA activities at Indiana University.

At a press conference called by the DuBois Clubs in New York the day after the Brooklyn events, several hundred persons appeared to show solidarity against the attacks. They included representatives of many radical, pacifist,



John Lindsay

civil rights and antiwar groups.

Richard Garza, a member of the national committee of the Socialist Workers Party, issued a statement at the press conference saying that all sections of the antiwar movement should react to the attack on the DuBois Clubs "according to the tradition of 'an injury to one is an injury to all.'"

Among those present were Elizabeth Sutherland of SNCC, Norma Becker of the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, Yale Professor Staughton Lynd and many others.

Lynd announced that because a section of the antiwar movement had been attacked, as a gesture of solidarity he had made application to join the DuBois Clubs. "I would do the same toward other sections of the movement if they were similarly attacked, such as the Committee for Nonviolent Action, SNCC, the Workshop in Nonviolence or the Young Socialist Alliance," he said.

There were also representatives from Women Strike for Peace, War Resisters League, Youth Against War and Fascism, Lower East Side Mobilization for Peace Action, Tompkins Square Neighbors for Peace Action, Columbia University CEWV, Committee for Nonviolent Action, Liberation, and the Progressive Labor Party.

# Malcolm X Speaks

Malcolm X's last appearance on the airwaves took place in New York over Station WINS on the night of Feb. 18, 1965. This was four days after the bombing of his home, nine days after the Selma police had used cattle-prods and clubs to drive 170 students on a brutal double-time "march" into the countryside, and the same day that hundreds of Brooklyn students had "rioted" in demonstrations against segregated school conditions. It was a phone-in panel show, *Contact*, conducted by Stan Bernard. One of the guests was Gordon Hall, an "expert on extremist organizations." The following is transcribed from the final third of the program.

### Installment 19 WHEN I'LL BE WORRIED

Stan Bernard: Gordon, you're a professional observer of extremist organizations, and you classify the black nationalists, and of course the Muslims, as extremist organizations. How do you appraise this political warfare that's going on in the black nationalist organizations?

Gordon Hall: Well, to be perfectly frank with you, and I do believe in speaking frankly, I think at the moment the Muslims are a dying organization, they're on the way out, they've made no impact in the Negro community nationally at any point, and even less so now. Malcolm has no place to go, which is why he's floundering so badly. For example, he's been breaking bread with the communists downtown —

Malcolm: What communists, what communists have I been —

Hall: Socialist Workers Party —

Malcolm: You are absolutely out of your mind, I have never broken bread with —

Hall: You have given several speeches which they have reprinted —

Malcolm: Well, that's not breaking bread. I speak anywhere, I spoke in London, England, and —

Hall: You were very glad to go back several times, and they are reprinting one of your major addresses in *The Militant* —

Malcolm: I spoke in a church, I spoke in a church in Rochester a couple of nights ago. Does that make me a Methodist? —

Hall: We're not talking about church, we're not talking about churches, we're talking about the Socialist Workers Party —

Malcolm: Just because you speak somewhere doesn't make you that. You speak to the public and you speak on any platform —

Hall: Oh, I don't, Malcolm.

Malcolm: — and I speak to the public and I speak on any platform.

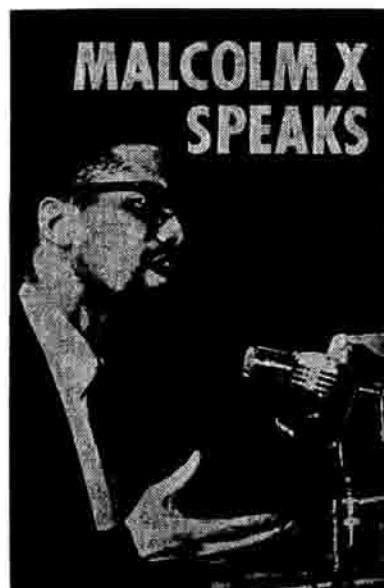
Hall: I'm afraid that's not the case, Malcolm.

Malcolm: If speaking on the socialist platform makes me a socialist, then when I speak in a Methodist church —

Hall: It was a communist platform —

Malcolm: I was in Selma, Alabama, last week, speaking in Martin Luther King's church. Does that make me a follower of Martin Luther King? No, your line of reasoning, sir, doesn't fit me.

Hall: I was just saying that I was asked a question by Stan, and I think that at the moment the nationalist movement has no place to go, they're floundering, and they're putting out lines everywhere. And there is an alliance in the general Harlem area between some of the Peking-based communists, the Progressive Labor Movement, and some of the others, the Bill Epton crowd. Bill Epton is a self-confessed avowed



Excerpted from the book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East Third St., New York, N. Y. 10003. Price \$5.95. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

communist — you'd agree to that, wouldn't you, Malcolm?

Malcolm: I know nothing about what Bill Epton's political philosophy is. Bill Epton, in my opinion, is one of the militant leaders in Harlem. Now, what his political beliefs are, I think that he has a right to them.

Hall: I didn't say he didn't have a right, I'm just saying what he is.

Malcolm: Well —

Hall: He has stated to me personally —

Malcolm: Well, whatever they are —

Hall: I have interviewed him, he told me that he was an avowed communist —

Malcolm: So whatever they are, he has a right to them.

Hall: — and he'd like to see this system of ours completely jacked, as well. All I'm saying is that there's a lot of warfare —

Malcolm: I think you'll find that a lot of the children that are out there in Brooklyn —

Hall: May I speak, Malcolm, may I speak —

Malcolm: — on the rampage against the segregated school system here in New York City —

Hall: May I speak?

Malcolm: — and King and some of his followers in Alabama right now are fighting against the same system.

Hall: You're a great clock-killer, but you don't let other people speak.

Malcolm: Well, say your words.

Hall: I'm trying to — if you would be kind enough to let me speak —

Bernard: Go ahead.

Malcolm: Go right ahead, Mr. Hall, Dr. Hall.

Hall: Well, at any rate, they're floundering now, and there's a lot of internecine warfare going on in the Harlem section, and most of the movements are small and splintered, and are splinters of splinters. And I suppose only the future will tell which one will emerge victorious and perhaps claim the most members.

I would make a prediction, and I think we could come back a year from now, Stan, and I think you may find Malcolm preaching a completely separate doctrine, and leading some other kind of movement.

Malcolm: Well, you know, one of the best compliments that Dr. Hall here can pay me is just the things that he says. When he begins to pat me on the back, I'll be worried —

Hall: I'm not patting you on

the back. I told you up in Boston —

Malcolm: I said, when you begin to pat me on the back —

Hall: — give a little time and you'd be preaching a new line, and you are.

Malcolm: I said, when you begin to pat me on the back, I'll be worried. When you begin, people of your profession, who make a profession out of dealing with groups in this country. When you begin to pat me on the back, then I'll be worried, sir. Now I would advise you, if you think that nationalism has no influence whatsoever, the nationalists, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, are having a rally at the Audubon Ballroom on Broadway —

Hall: I think you mentioned it earlier, you're getting in a couple of plugs.

Malcolm: I'm going to mention it again. I wouldn't come on the program and not mention it. Because one of the most difficult things for nationalists to do is to let the public know what they're doing. So we're having this rally at the Audubon —

Hall: The public is engaged in a vast conspiracy against you; it's obvious from what you say —

Malcolm: You're going to make me mention it four or five times. We're having this rally at the Audubon Ballroom this coming Sunday at 2 o'clock and people just like you, who consider themselves experts on nationalists, are given front-seat invitations, and I would advise you, since it's your profession to know what nationalists and other so-called extremists are doing, to come and be our guest. Now, one thing I'd like to point out to you, Dr. Hall, whenever you find black —

Hall: You know perfectly well I'm not a doctor, Malcolm.

Malcolm: Well, you sound like you're an expert on something, I thought you were a doctor. Whenever you find the condition that black people are confronted by in this country, being permitted by the government to exist so long, the condition in itself is extreme — and any black man, who really feels about this situation that our people are confronted by, his feelings are extreme. You can't take a cough syrup and cure somebody who has pneumonia. And the black people are becoming more extreme every day. I was in Alabama a couple of weeks ago, before I went to England, down there with Dr. King and some of the others, who are trying to just register and vote. Now I'll tell you frankly, with King supposed to be the most moderate, most conservative, most loving, most endorsed, most supported —

Hall: The word is responsible, but go ahead.

Malcolm: O.K., responsible to the white power structure. To me, when white people talk about responsible —

Hall: He's a responsible American, that's what he is.

Malcolm: When people like you usually refer to Negroes as responsible, you mean Negroes who are responsible in the context of your type of thinking. So, getting right back to Dr. King, any time you find a person who goes along with the government, to the degree that Dr. King does, and still Dr. King's followers, children, are made to run down the road by brute policemen who are nothing but Klansmen, and the federal government can step in and do nothing about it, I will guarantee you that you are producing extremists by the thousands.

Next week: The powder keg and the wick.

## THEATER REVIEW

## MARAT/SADE

**The Persecution and Assassination of Marat as Performed by the Inmates of the Asylum of Charenton Under the Direction of the Marquis de Sade** is the enormous title of a play universally acclaimed by the critics. As widely as the play has been applauded, it has been perhaps even more widely misinterpreted.

The play takes place in an insane asylum. Most of the critics have tended to overemphasize this aspect of the play. They have dealt with the play as if it were trying to point out some sort of irrationality and absurdity in all human endeavor. But the play's author, Peter Weiss, has said in commenting on his play in last spring's issue of *Partisan Review* that: "Everything irrational and absurd is foreign to me."

Weiss's play is acted and sung in a style reminiscent of Bertolt Brecht. And like Brecht's plays, *Marat/Sade* has a powerfully conveyed revolutionary content. If it is borne in mind that the play is set at a specific point in time as well as in a specific place, it should be easy to grasp this content.

The play is set in the France of 1808. The Thermidorean reaction out of which Napoleon Bonaparte emerged has by this year succeeded in stabilizing itself. Nevertheless, the memory of the revolutionary events of the 1790's is still fresh.

Against this background, the inmates of the insane asylum of Charenton perform in their asylum's bath house a play about the revolution. Their audience for this play within a play is a smug, well-contented group of fashionable bourgeois.

The condescending and patronizing attitudes of this audience are represented in part by the Director of the Clinic of Charenton,

Monsieur Coulmier. Coulmier gives an introductory prologue to the inmates' play and frequently interrupts it. He tries to control, distort, limit and apologize for the revolutionary content of the script. He keeps pointing out that it is 1808 and that everything is different now.

The Marquis de Sade, himself an inmate of the clinic, has written and directs the play within the play, and engages in a running debate with his central character, Jean-Paul Marat. Marat is a leader of the French Revolution. Sade is a disillusioned revolutionary, who enters into his own play from the outside. Sade is revealed in the course of the play to never have been more than a half-hearted revolutionary to begin with.

Marat is the proponent of the revolutionary removal of oppression. He is convinced of the need to fight by any means necessary to attain this goal. In doing so he is articulating the will of the people. The patients, representing the people of France in 1793, cry out at the end of a song:

*"Marat we're poor and the poor stay poor  
Marat don't make us wait any more  
We want our rights and we don't care how  
We want our revolution NOW"*

Nevertheless, the ruthlessness which Marat is compelled to uphold by the just demands of the masses and the plottings of the counter-revolutionaries cause Marat to continually re-examine his ideas. His outlook is deeply humanistic and even necessary violence in self-defense is never more than a repugnant necessity to him. With all of this self-examination to plague him Marat

comes down at every decisive point a revolutionary. When Sade taunts Marat with the fact that many of those who were with the revolution in the beginning are by 1793 at odds with it, Marat replies:

*"... it's usual in a revolution for the half-hearted and the fickle-travellers to be dropped"*

Sade is the advocate of pure individualism. He evaluates the revolution in purely subjective and personal terms. Since the revolution did not proceed in a way that would allow him an absolute personal freedom he condemns it as worse than useless.

Sade is bitterly against the established order of 1808, but the bourgeoisie permits him to go about on a lengthy leash. They recognize that he is impotent to oppose them. Sade's anarchist-existentialist desire for a complete scope for his own individually self-centered freedom over all else ends up by giving him no scope at all. That is, Sade is a prisoner in an insane asylum and what freedom he has is decided upon by those who control his prison.

The inmates of Charenton are a backdrop to the debate that goes on between Marat and Sade. They are representative of the people of France. The people of France are represented by the mad because the year is 1808 and the Thermidorean reaction is in power. The disillusioned Sade who is supposed to have written the inmates' play looks back on the revolution as absurd and insane and thus writes a play that can be in his mind fittingly played by madmen. Nevertheless, the truth of the events transcends Sade's sour outlook. As bitter as Sade is he is too much of a realist to be a bad reporter. It is another



**POWERFUL DRAMA.** Ian Richardson as Marat and Susan Williamson as Simone Eurard in the Royal Shakespeare Company's production of "Marat/Sade" currently being performed in New York.

matter when it comes to evaluating these facts.

*Marat/Sade* is supposed to have an immediate relevance for the twentieth century according to its author. Weiss writes that the situation of the play is "the confrontation of individualism and Socialism/Collectivism." In his endeavor to have contemporary relevance, Weiss is eminently successful. The following speech by Marat is one good example among many:

*"Don't be deceived when our Revolution has been finally stamped out and they tell you things are better now Even if there's no poverty to be seen because the poverty's been hidden even if you ever got more wages and could afford to buy more of these new and useless goods which these new industries foist on you and even if it seems to you that you never had so much that is only the slogan of those who still have much more than you Don't be taken in when they pat you paternally on the shoulder and say that there's no inequality worth speaking of and no more reason for fighting Because if you believe them they will be completely in charge in their marble homes and granite banks from which they rob the people of the world under the pretence of bringing them culture Watch out for as soon as it pleases them they'll send you out to protect their gold in wars"*

Marat is obviously a man who knows what he's talking about. He is the foremost leader of the revolutionary vanguard of France. We know right from the beginning of the play that he is going to be assassinated by Charlotte Corday. But the dramatic impact of his death is not diminished by this fact. For just as he is about to be murdered Marat has finally resolved all his doubts and answered all of Sade's objections. He declares:

*"No I am right and I will say it once more"*

The inmates' play interrupts itself, as Corday's knife is coming down, to sing a song that chronicles what happens after the murder of Marat. It is the story of the Thermidor fixing its hold on the people.

The Martin Beck Theatre's production of *Marat/Sade* is near enough to perfection that one need not quibble over minor imperfections as some critics have done. A revolutionary play on Broadway is a rare event and in this case a more than ordinarily welcome one.

The cast works so well together that *Marat/Sade* often seems more like a dance than a play. All of the actors deserve praise, but let me single out for special mention Ian Richardson as Marat, Patrick Magee as Sade, and Glenda Jackson as Charlotte Corday.

—Arthur Maglin

## World Events

## Daniel Cited Stalin Purges

Larissa Daniel, wife of Yuli Daniel, the Soviet writer condemned to five years at hard labor for publishing uncensored satirical fiction outside the Soviet Union, granted an exclusive interview to Agence France Presse Feb. 14. Mrs. Daniel had just visited her husband in prison.

She was one of the few who attended the trial and so was able to describe what occurred in the supposedly "open" proceedings, which were actually held behind closed doors with attendance restricted. In defending himself Daniel had stressed, according to his wife, that the "slanders" on Soviet society that the prosecution saw in his works were basically a psychological analysis of the period of the cult of Stalin.

Daniel cited a long list of writers and artists who disappeared in the vast Stalinist purges. He told his judges that it was to avoid something like that occurring again that he had sent his writings abroad.

## Soviet Writer Raps Trial

Konstantin Paustovsky, one of the best-known and most respected of older Soviet writers — and also one of the most courageous — dared to speak up in defense of Sinyavsky and Daniel. Mrs. Daniel has revealed. The 64-year-old writer sent a letter to Sinyavsky's attorney, in which he took a strong stand in their defense and against the trial. However, said Mrs. Daniel, the court refused to have the letter read aloud as part of the record.

Paustovsky wrote that he saw nothing "anti-Soviet" in the works published abroad under the pen

names Abram Tertz and Nikolai Arzhak.

Paustovsky attracted attention in 1956 with a searing indictment of the Soviet bureaucracy in a speech defending the anti-bureaucratic novel *Not by Bread Alone*. In 1959 at the Third Congress of Soviet Writers he made an eloquent appeal for greater freedom in Soviet literature. In 1961 an anthology he edited, mostly of works by younger, nonconformist writers, aroused the anger of authorities and was withdrawn from circulation.

## Polish Critics Jailed, Too

The legitimate indignation aroused by the sentencing of Daniel and Sinyavsky in Moscow should not be limited to the case of those two writers. In Poland, too, questioning intellectuals have been jailed, among them men of revolutionary socialist views. The demand for release of the Polish revolutionists must also be made.

Two young men, Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski (who is said to have played an important part at the University of Warsaw during the Polish October of 1956), were condemned to long prison terms last May; three university teachers, Romuald Smiech, Kasimierz Badowski, and Ludwig Haas, were also jailed this January.

All five were involved in the writing and distribution of a document of 120 pages which was Marxist and anti-bureaucratic. (Haas had been a member of the Polish Trotskyist organization before 1939. Deported and held in a Stalinist labor camp for 17 years, he openly proclaimed himself a Trotskyist upon his return to Poland.)

News of the fate of these men

is scarce, but a London *Observer* correspondent had this to say about them Feb. 13:

"A few weeks ago three university teachers were sentenced to three years imprisonment; they had been mixed up with a young man named Karol Modzelewski, a history lecturer who was jailed last summer for three and a half years for disseminating papers judged prejudicial to the state; during the trial he had appeared in court in handcuffs. Son of a party hero and himself a keen party member, Modzelewski had defied orders and circulated plans — based on a visit to the Italian Communist Party — for freer debate within the party and for a new economic deal. The students have not forgotten him, nor his ideas."

## New Indian Marxist Journal

Revolutionary socialists in India are publishing a new magazine, *Marxist Outlook*. The first issue of this journal of the Socialist Workers Party, Indian section of the Fourth International, has already appeared. It features notes on important current events in India, comments on the Vietnam war and the Indonesia events, and the first article in a series on the Indian economy.

Also in Volume 1, No. 1 are "Cruelties Equaling Those of Hitler" by Bertrand Russell, "Homage to Lenin" by C. G. Shah, and "Situation in Ceylon" by Edmund Samarakkody.

A single copy may be obtained by sending forty cents to *Marxist Outlook*, 414 Cleveland Road, Worli, Bombay 18, India. A one year's subscription is \$4.50 in the U. S. and Canada.

—George Saunders

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# Moscow's Role in U.S.-China Conflict

By George Novack

World politics today is dominated by three major powers: the United States, the Soviet Union and China.

De Gaulle aspires to bring his government into that lofty company but France does not have the demographic, economic, military and strategic weight to do more than maneuver among the big three. As for Harold Wilson, he is following the policy long ago laid down by the British ruling class — resignation to the role of a satellite to the American colossus.

The position and policies of the United States and China in respect to each other are well known and well defined. These regimes are open enemies; they entertain no friendship for each other; and in the colonial world they tend to clash at every point. *Jenmin Jih Pao*, the Chinese Communist Party newspaper, is wholly warranted in its charge Feb. 2 that American imperialism is seeking to tighten its military encirclement of China. The containment of Chinese Communism is one of the reasons avowed by American imperialists and militarists for expanding intervention in Southeast Asia.

The ambiguous role is that played by the Soviet Union in the present international situation. Where does it stand, what are its aims, where is its diplomacy headed? This complex problem admits of no simple answer.

It is significant that Washington and Peking concur from opposing points of view on their appraisal of the principal objective of Moscow's foreign policy. Both are aware that the Soviet leaders would appreciate a deal with the United States on the touchiest areas of conflict between the two superpowers. These range all the way from prohibiting West German access to nuclear weapons to a settlement of the Vietnam war.

#### Implicit Agreement

Such a global agreement is implicit in the Kremlin's official doctrine of indefinite peaceful co-existence between the capitalist and the workers states which guides the calculations of its diplomats as well as the line of its followers in the Communist parties. If it were officially concluded and ratified, this would be tantamount to a *de facto* condominium of the two capitals over world affairs.

But there has been and remains a winding and rocky road between the desired aim of the heads of the Soviet bureaucracy and its realization. Recurrent and irrepressible conflicts between the forces of revolution and the imperialist counterrevolution and the deepening antagonism between Washington and Peking keep upsetting the status quo and hindering Moscow from moving as fast or as far as it would like in coming to terms with Washington.

This was dramatized by Johnson's decision to bomb north Vietnam while Kosygin was in Hanoi



Mao Tse-tung

last February. It has been further emphasized by U. S. commitment of massive armed forces to the southeast Asian mainland. These developments have pushed off the possibilities of any general agreement between Washington and Moscow at least until that conflict is disposed of.

At the same time Washington and Moscow are taking care not to blow up any more bridges that might lead later toward such an agreement, whatever conflicts and tactical considerations may hold it up or even set it back for a period. More than that, both sides are projecting new points of support which can pave the way to it.

Johnson made a sizable concession to the Kremlin's demands last December when he quietly scuttled the proposed multilateral nuclear force under NATO which was to give Bonn a finger, and possibly a whole hand, on the nuclear trigger. In his State of the Union message the President suggested lowering the barriers of trade with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The Russian representatives have reciprocated by indicating at Geneva their readiness to negotiate a nonproliferation treaty and sign an agreement not to resort to nuclear weapons first.

The latest charges and counter-charges exchanged between Peking and Moscow revolve around this question of Soviet relations with the United States. China has accused the Soviet leaders of collaborating with Washington in its encirclement policy. They are also indicted for following "a policy of appeasement in Europe" by refusing to open a second front in Berlin, thus allowing American troops to be released for duty in Vietnam.

#### Counter-Charge

The Kremlin in turn has accused Peking of trying to push the Soviet Union into reckless military confrontations which would threaten world peace, of provoking more than 150 border incidents in 1965, and of holding up shipments of Russian military equipment to north Vietnam. The Chinese have officially denied the latter charge.

The crucial point at issue in these mutual recriminations is whether, and to what extent and with what ends in view, Moscow is in collusion with Washington against China. Such an alignment of one workers state against another alongside the mightiest and most aggressive imperialist power would be a most reprehensible and perfidious breach of solidarity.

The Chinese Communist leaders have ample grounds for suspecting and distrusting the direction of Soviet foreign policy. The withdrawal of Soviet technical aid and curtailment of trade after the 1960 split was followed by the supplying of Russian military equipment to India during the India-China border dispute. Then Moscow signed the nuclear test-ban treaty with Washington which was implicitly designed to slow

down China's acquisition of nuclear arms.

Washington and Moscow worked along parallel diplomatic lines to halt the India-Pakistan war and Premier Kosygin's efforts to settle that conflict at Tashkent met with U. S. approval. As *The Economist* commented on Jan. 15, 1966: "However embarrassing it may be for Moscow to admit it, the new extent of Russian involvement [in south Asia through the Tashkent agreement] also implies a greater degree of co-operation with the United States. Not that the Russians would not like to replace western influence with their own. But the subcontinent has not been summarily removed by Tashkent from what the Americans regard as their sphere of concern. The point is that the two superpowers both want peace there, they both want economic progress, they both want stability. And they both dislike China. Common interests like these do not exclude competition, but they do as a minimum imply that it will not be destructive competition."

*The Economist* also points out that the conclusion of a nonproliferation treaty would involve a joint Russian-American guarantee to protect India which would imply a joint foreign policy in Asia directed against China and its nuclear capability.

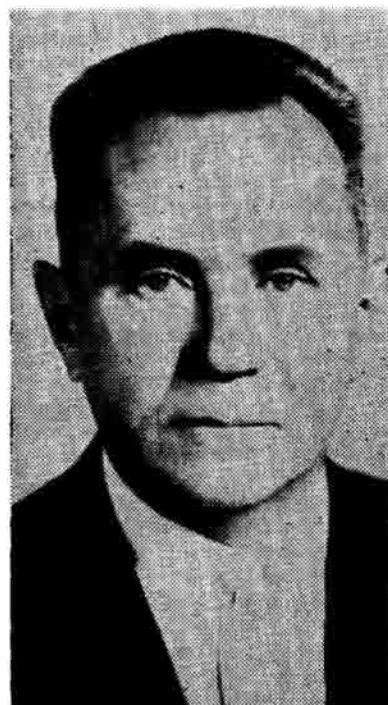
This series of moves gives substance to Peking's claims that Moscow is seeking to create a *cordon sanitaire* of India, Pakistan and Japan around China.

#### Widely Believed

This opinion is not limited to Peking. It is confirmed from the opposite side of the three-power triangle. When U. S. Vice President Humphrey returned from attending Shastri's funeral in New Delhi, where he talked with Premier Kosygin, he stated flatly in a television interview that the Soviet government was intent upon encircling China. Similar views have been voiced by such well-informed U. S. statesmen as Ambassador Harriman.

Buffeted between Washington and Peking and between the pressures of imperialism and the world revolution, the Soviet leaders have been compelled to steer a devious course on the international political arena. On the one hand, they must formally, and sometimes even truculently, oppose and try to block the most insolent and perilous of Washington's aggressions while maintaining lines of communication, conducting parallel actions, and taking small specific steps toward agreement with the U. S.

On the other hand, they cannot too openly consort with Washington before they have secured the basic conditions for a general agreement satisfactory to themselves. That would risk damaging their prestige and losing their influence in the world Communist movement and among the unaligned colonial nations and hand-



Alexis Kosygin

ing over leadership of the international anti-imperialist struggle to Peking. These considerations oblige the Kremlin to tread cautiously between the contending forces and occasionally jut its chin to the left in an anti-American stance.

Thus, many months after a shameful lack of response to Johnson's bombings of north Vietnam, Premier Kosygin took a tough tone toward Washington in his Dec. 6 interview with *New York Times* correspondent James Reston, as did Foreign Minister Gromyko in a follow-up speech to the Supreme Soviet in connection with the five-percent increase in the military budget. Similar motives may well have induced the Soviet representatives to set aside their previous conciliatory policy and formally accede to the perspective of armed guerrilla struggle as the main line for the Latin-American revolution voted by the Tricontinental Conference at Havana.

From the time of his meeting at Camp David with Eisenhower in 1959, Khrushchev strove to arrive at an understanding with the U. S. even at the cost of a rupture with China. After his downfall, the Kosygin-Brezhnev team hoped for a time to assume a more neutral stance and remain on good terms with both antagonists. Khrushchev's successors refrained from public polemics with Peking and sought to moderate and muffle the points of conflict between them.

#### Shrinking Middle

Now the sharpening of tensions generated by the expansion of the war in Southeast Asia has made it increasingly difficult to find and hold a middle ground against both of the contending sides. Vietnam has become the focal point and testing ground of world politics today. And the relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are being strained to the breaking point by the year-long escalation of U. S. intervention there.

The two strongest noncapitalist governments had the elementary duty to have closed ranks instantly in reply to the stepped-up imperialist aggression. Such coordination of aid and action was dictated by the need to back up the national liberation struggle in south Vietnam, defend the independence of north Vietnam brutally assaulted by U. S. air raids, and to ward off the threat of war against China and a possible nuclear conflict.

Instead, just as Johnson proceeds to send in more U. S. troops, Moscow and Peking present the spectacle of open disunity and mutual recriminations. Let us assume that the worst is true and the Kremlin is in league with Wash-

ington, as Peking charges. What more effective means could Peking have used to block that policy and expose the hidden aims of the Soviet leaders than to have grasped with both hands Shelepin's call for "all socialist countries to pool their efforts to aid Vietnam by all means."

However, Mao and his associates have assumed the attitude of refusing to accept Moscow's proposal for joint action on the factional pretext that it is impossible to work together with "renegades" and "revisionists."

For example, the Feb. 10 *Hung Chi*, organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party declared: "We will never take any united action with the new leaders of the Soviet party so long as they do not abandon the Khrushchev revisionist line, do not change their line of Soviet-U. S.-Indian-Japanese alliance."

#### Weakened Struggle

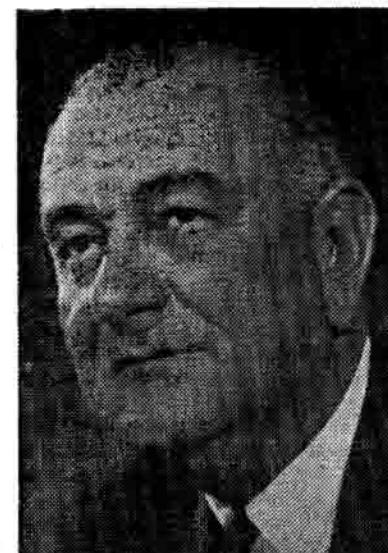
This sectarianism has not only weakened the anti-imperialist front to the benefit of the enemy but has laid Peking open to the Soviet charges of interfering with military shipments to north Vietnam and contributing nothing "positive" to the struggle.

Meanwhile the Soviet and Chinese representatives are each seeking to attain predominant influence in Hanoi, which would prefer to remain equidistant from the quarreling powers. Washington is counting on the Soviet leaders to cast their weight into the balance at the proper juncture to bring the Vietnamese to the conference table. There are signs that Moscow would not be unwilling to perform the same mediating role in Southeast Asia as it has on the Indian subcontinent.

This is hinted at by a Feb. 7 *New York Times* editorial speculating on a "Sino-Soviet Showdown" when the twenty-third congress of the Soviet Communist Party meets next month. It concludes: "Should such a formal schism take place, it might increase Moscow's freedom of action in exerting pressure for reason in Vietnam, assuming — as appears probable — that the Chinese are correct in charging that Moscow agrees with Washington that the time has come for negotiations to end the savage struggle in Vietnam."

The added supplies pledged to Hanoi by Soviet leader Shelepin on his recent visit to Hanoi does not necessarily contradict this possibility; it can serve as a means for strengthening Moscow's position for such a purpose.

However, great obstacles stand in the way of the would-be "peacemakers." The Pentagon's decision to crush the national liberation movements and contain the People's Republic of China, the firmness of Peking, and, not least, the determination of the Vietnamese, north and south, not to be again cheated by diplomacy of what they have won through years of costly struggle.



Lyndon Johnson

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# Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

## McGowan Article

Santa Cruz, Calif.  
Thank you for the article by Felix McGowan regarding the Catholic Church and Cuba and McGowan's experience as a priest.

## 20 Years Ago In The Militant

The landing of 20,000 troops of the French imperialist army at Hanoi has again brought into headline prominence the heroic struggle of the Indo-Chinese people for independence. The purpose of these troops is deadly clear. The French colonial despots hope they will prove sufficient — with their American-supplied equipment — to drown in blood the aspirations of the Indo-Chinese for freedom.

The landing follows a March 1 agreement between the French imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek government to withdraw 100,000 Chinese troops who have been occupying northern Indo-China. So long as these Chinese armies remain, the Vietnam government administrates the affairs of this important part of the country.

Concomitant with the deal with Chiang Kai-shek, the French despots reported that Ho Chi Minh, president of the Vietnam Republic, has agreed to permit the landing of French troops without opposition in return for "recognition" of the republic. This deal specified that the Vietnam Republic must remain within the "French Union" and under "French control." Previously Ho Chi Minh, like the rest of the Indo-Chinese nationalists, had demanded unconditional independence.

The French are obviously following the traditional strategem of colonial despots faced by an uprising. They are willing to promise a great deal — with loopholes in order to facilitate the advance of their troops. Deception has always gone hand-in-hand with brute force.

Whether the French will succeed in reimposing their hated regime on Indo-China thus remains to be seen. In a recent series of articles, Gordon Walker, chief far eastern correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* declared that "From a purely military standpoint it is questionable whether the French ever will be able to assume uncontested control again."

Walker reported that the Viet Minh (the principal political grouping in Indo-China) is backed by eight million followers and has a well-organized army of 50,000 troops who seized the arms of the Japanese. In his opinion the French at best could only seize the coastal cities and hold them for a few years.

But if the French do not succeed it will not be from lack of brutality. In a Feb. 25 dispatch Walker declared: "Well-substantiated reports from official foreign observers show that the struggle in Southern Indo-China has been marked by brutal massacres of natives and all the accoutrements of an 18th century colonial 'purge.'

"Tanks and other implements used in the policing of districts affected bear the 'made in the United States' label." — March 16, 1948.

It takes a special kind of courage for a man who occupies a privileged position within the system to step down from that position and join those below him. This is apparently what McGowan managed to do and it's not surprising that he ran into difficulty with the Catholic hierarchy.

I was curious as to how he blends Christianity and socialism. Could you perhaps do a follow-up article on this subject?

D. R.

## New Flag

San Diego, Calif.  
A proposed design for an American flag to be used during the undeclared war in Vietnam: In place of the field of stars, a double cross representing what President Johnson has done to the hopes of millions of peace-loving Americans who elected him, believing his promises.

Skull and crossbones, representing inevitable death for tens of thousands of American and Vietnamese youth, along with many innocent old people, women and children.

Bag of money representing the billions of blood-stained profits of the war contractors who make the guns, bombs, helicopters, napalm, chemicals, etc.

Dunce's cap, to be worn by anyone in the White House, the Pentagon, the State Department, or on Capitol Hill who thinks that ideas can be destroyed by bombs.

Thomas Zeller

## Pleasantly Surprised

Berkeley, Calif.  
My subscription is a new one — I was most pleasantly surprised to find that you present more than one point of view. Those of us who consider ourselves "enlightened liberals" are often, perhaps even usually, just as narrow-minded as those we tag as reactionaries. I look forward to further issues.

T. M.

## Fan Mail (I)

Bronx, N. Y.  
I have enclosed a check for \$3 to renew my subscription for one year.

Four months ago I took advantage of the special introductory offer of combined subs to *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist*. I have been quite impressed with the coverage and thoughtful articles carried in these publications. Keep up the good work!

R. A.

## Fan Mail (II)

Greendale, Wisc.  
I am just finishing a four-month subscription to *The Militant* and would like to tell you how much I enjoyed it! It's nice to read a paper which is not afraid to tell the real story or give the whole truth. Your concern for people, no matter what country they live in or what they believe, is to be commended most highly! It is really gratifying to know that there is a paper that puts concern for people (all people) and principles before prestige, politics, power and profits!

In many ways you have shown your concern for real justice, real

freedom (for all people, not the few), equal opportunities for all, and your value of moral principles.

Because of these ideals you have shown in your paper I believe yours is one of the best. I, therefore, enclose \$3 for a year's subscription.

Jack Lindberg

## Socialism and Christianity

Detroit, Mich.

As a student of socialism, I subscribe to *The Militant* as well as to other publications of the various socialist and progressive political organizations. I have freely come to believe that socialism is a just and totally democratic form of government. There are several major areas in which I oppose the position taken by the Socialist Workers Party. Much is made by the ultra-right that socialism is against religion. I have never felt that this was correct. It is my own belief that socialism should be nearer the Christian ethic because it represents the masses. Early Christianity practiced a form of primitive communism. I view capitalism as being basically estranged from the teachings of Christ.

I find it increasingly hard to retain my faith as a Christian with what I personally regard to be unwise counsel on the part of *The Militant* in urging what I can only call violence. I will openly admit that I attempt to practice pacifism and I regard it as a negation of my religious beliefs to indulge in (or support) the use of terrorism.

The Negro is rightly impatient in his long overdue emancipation from "second class citizenship." The answer to this problem is not

a series of unreasoned actions such as that in Watts. Ours is a moral and just goal. The morality of this position is rightly held in question whenever anyone (black or white) uses violence. The late Malcolm X was quite correct in his assessment of the racial question; but I cannot support what I feel is his racist solution. Black Supremacy is not the answer to the racist dogmas of the Wallaces of this nation.

Richard M. Woodruff

[We wish to comment on two points of fact. 1) *The Militant* does not counsel violence. We believe that the great task of our time is to cleanse society of violence and we seek the establishment of a socialist society precisely in order to end violence. We do believe, however, that the ruling capitalist class will not peacefully submit to a decision of the majority of the people to effect a fundamental change in society and that the capitalist class will try to use violence to thwart such a change. We believe the people have every right to defend themselves against such violence and should be prepared to do so.

2) Malcolm X did not preach violence or a "racist solution." He preached freedom, justice and equality for the black people and he urged that they organize to defend themselves against racist violence. We believe this is readily apparent from a reading of our serialization of *Malcolm X Speaks*.

Editor]

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Just a Cold?** — "... when the President was in the process of deciding whether to resume air strikes against north Vietnam, he noticed a news ticker item that quoted Vice President Humphrey as saying that Mr. Johnson had left a White House dinner early because he had a cold. The President sent a message to Mr. Humphrey saying he did not have a cold. To those who wondered why such a detail was worthy of the President's notice, Mr. Johnson's aides replied that he didn't want the American people to think he was making important decisions when he was sick." — The Feb. 28 *New York Times*.

**Good News** — At least two people in Manhattan have managed to cope with the problem of cramped living quarters. One resident at the Majestic, a big apartment building on Central Park West, was squeezed into a ten-room apartment with only four bathrooms. A woman on the same floor had an even smaller place. So they got married and they're going to combine the two apartments.

**Socialized Medicine, Anyone?** — "The United States, the AMA often tells us, has the best medical care in the world. Right? Wrong. We are the eleventh among nations in infant mortality, and declining on the list; nearly half our hospitals are unaccredited by medical organizations . . . some 30 per cent of surgical operations are not done by surgeons, and many are acknowledged to be unnecessary. Treatment . . . is considered a privilege, not a right; medical decisions are often made on the basis of money and not science."

From a *New York Times* book review of *The American Health Scandal* by Roul Tunley.

**Luce Sounds Alarm** — A blurb for *Time-Life* books reveals: "According to anthropological findings, *Sinanthropus pekinensis* was a fierce hunter of the Chinese plains over 360,000 years ago. Today Peking man is personified by Mao-Tse-tung, leader of the aggressive Chinese Communist regime . . . An understanding of Mao and of China is important to the American people, particularly to the youngsters who will live in a world where one billion Chinese will be a basic fact of life."

**Another Menace** — Researchers have disclosed that a quarter of the American people may be menaced by asbestos dust. The lethal effect of asbestos on workers in the industry has already been established. Their lung cancer death rate is six to seven times the average. Now autopsies of 1,100 people in three cities have

indicated that 25 percent of the population have asbestos dust lodged in their lungs.

**Florida Standards** — Pinellas County in Florida has an official minimum wage of \$1.41 an hour for county employees. Yet it pays 123 workers, a sixth of the county force, less than the minimum — some of them as little as \$1.28 an hour. All of the 123, unsurprisingly, are Negroes. They're employed as maids, janitors, etc., at the County Home.

**Cheerful** — Some people may think the Vietnam war is a grim business, but that's not true for every one. The *New York Times* reports that the president of Olin, Mathieson, the chemical giant, made a "cheerful profit forecast." He said that in the first quarter of 1966 the company will enjoy a 20 per cent profit increase on the basis of a 12 per cent increase in sales. No 3.2 per cent guideline there.

Harry Ring

FOR

## NEW READERS

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## Thought for the Week

"A man tends to get justice in proportion to the thickness of his wallet. One swallow doesn't make a spring, and one prisoner breaking free through adequate counsel doesn't change things for the hundreds of thousands of other men still in prison because they were not adequately represented." George John Gessner, former Army nuclear weapons specialist convicted of atomic spying but freed after a higher court invalidated the confession forced out of him.

## POOR PEOPLE'S CORPORATION

## Mississippi Cooperative

By Arthur Maglin

The Poor People's Corporation is not an ordinary sort of business enterprise. Since last July, the PPC has provided technical and financial assistance to worker-owned cooperatives in Mississippi. It offers various training programs, provides marketing channels, and generally helps co-ops get underway and into production. Co-op workers are those people who have suffered economic reprisals as a result of their civil rights activity, unemployed or under-employed farmers and sharecroppers, and those who have have gone on strike against intolerable working conditions.

The PPC is a non-profit, non-share, chartered corporation, independent of all other organizations. The whole project is controlled by the workers themselves. Funds for establishing the cooperatives are dispersed to the various groups from a revolving fund by a vote of the PPC membership at their quarterly meetings. The members are low-income people, who pay 25c annual dues. At present, all of the PPC members are Mississippi Negroes.

"The purpose of the project," says Ellen Maslow, New York coordinator for the PPC, "is to create jobs on an independent basis, learn skills, increase income and more importantly to get out from under a dependency on white bosses. People have often been fired for registering to vote or speaking out on political issues or sending their kids to the white schools. Beginning to build an independent economic base will be an aid to gaining political freedom."

"What sets this program apart from government sponsored anti-poverty programs is that decision-making power and control of the project is in the hands of the workers themselves. They're standing on their own two feet. For instance, all administrative expenses, including my own salary, get voted on by the people."

The Poor People's Corporation is not the group which called the army base demonstration which received nationwide publicity recently. That was the Poor People's Conference, a separate group to which the Poor People's Corpora-



COOPERATIVE EFFORT. Women working in Mississippi Poor People's Project. They are seeking expanded market for their products.

tion is not directly connected. "Both organizations stem from the same roots in the poor Mississippi Negro community and are part of the same movement," comments Miss Maslow.

The project is coordinated by Jesse Morris in Mississippi. The PPC now consists of nine producing co-ops and a central sales and purchasing co-op in Jackson. The co-ops produce clothes, toys, pocketbooks and many other items. The PPC recruits craftsmen to go to Mississippi and work with co-op members. The training program is coordinated by Doris Derby in PPC's training center in Jackson.

The PPC is still getting started.

It needs customers of its products; contributions of money, sewing machines, fabric, thread and other sewing supplies; it needs retail outlets, designs for new products, the aid of craftsmen, especially in garment industry skills. The PPC is eager for local groups to invite a PPC representative to come and show samples of its products and to give more information about the project and how it can be helped.

To send for the PPC catalogue or for information about the project write: Poor People's Corp., 5 Beekman St., Room 1025 New York, N. Y., 10038. Or write to: Poor People's Corporation, P. O. Box 997, Jackson Mississippi.

## Saigon Troops Desert in Mass

Neil Sheehan, special correspondent to the *New York Times*, reported on Feb. 23 that the Saigon regime admitted 113,000 men, or 21 percent, deserted from its armed forces last year.

"Desertions from the regular armed forces nearly doubled during the last year," Sheehan wrote. The Saigon regime also estimates that the National Liberation Front increased its forces from a little over 100,000 to 230,000 in 1965, and charges that only 20,000 of these came from north Vietnam.

These figures, coming as they do from the Saigon dictatorship, in all probability play down the desertion rate of the Saigon army and the number of north Vietnamese "infiltrators," if there are any such in reality. Even so, the figures are an eloquent testimony to the facts that the NLF enjoys growing support, while the Saigon regime is unable to prevent mass desertions. Many of those who leave the Saigon army must be going over to the other side.

Other interesting aspects to this revelation were brought out in a letter to the *Times* by Arnold S. Kaufman of the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy:

"Those of us who have been

active in the teach-in movement have repeatedly claimed that the government has tried often to deceive the American people. Neil Sheehan's story about the desertion rate in the south Vietnamese forces provides a rather spectacular confirmation of one such deception.

"In the TV debate sponsored last June 21 by the organizers of the National Teach-In, the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy, the following exchange took place between Prof. Hans Morgenthau, and the then Special Assistant to the President, McGeorge Bundy:

"Morgenthau: '... the desertion rate of the Vietnamese Army in recent months has been enormous. Generally it has been said that the recruits desert at the rate of 30 percent. But around Danang in the war zone, 40 percent of the combatant units have in recent weeks defected.'

"Bundy: 'I simply have to break in, if I may, Mr. Sevareid, and say that I think that Professor Morgenthau is wrong on his facts as to the desertion rate...'

"Mr. Sheehan writes that 96,000 troops deserted last year. This does not include 15 percent of the total number of actual deserters who

later returned to their ranks. That makes an actual total of deserters of approximately 113,000 men.

"During 1965 the south Vietnamese forces increased from 510,000 to 571,000 men. Thus the average size of the south Vietnamese military force through the year was in the vicinity of 540,000 men. A simple calculation reveals that the approximate rate of desertion from the total force was 21 percent.

"But Mr. Sheehan also reports that 'most of the men who desert... do so either while in training camps or while moving to their first assignments.' Professor Morgenthau's estimate of a 30 percent desertion rate among recruits appears, therefore, too conservative.

"The above facts, as well as these qualifying considerations, must have been known to the man who is reputed to screen almost every bit of important intelligence that eventually reaches the President's hands. It would not, therefore, be implausible to claim that Mr. Bundy, and through him the American government, tried to deceive the American public on June 21, 1965. Some people might even reasonably claim that Mr. Bundy told a whopping lie."

"During this meeting," the communique asserts [as reported by the March 6 *New York Herald*

## Seven Cubans Accused Of Plot Against Castro

MARCH 8 — The trial of seven men accused of involvement in a plot to assassinate Cuban Premier Fidel Castro began in Havana on March 7 with 500 people in attendance. Cuban and foreign news-men were present.

According to an Associated Press dispatch from Havana, Rolando Cubela Secades confessed and told the revolutionary tribunal conducting the trial, "To the wall! I want to be executed, that is what I want. It is justified!"

The prosecutor asked for the death penalty for Cubela and three others — Ramon Guin, Jose Gonzalez Gallarreta and Alberto Blanco Romariz. Prison sentences of 32 years were asked for Juan Alsinia Navarro, Guillermo Cunill Alvarez and Angel Herrero Veliz.

Guin is not charged with participating in the plot, but with having known of it and concealing it, and of carrying out espionage for the Central Intelligence Agency. Guin has confessed, as have the other two defendants who face death. The remaining three deny any knowledge of the assassination plan.

Cubela was a prominent leader of the Revolutionary Directorate during the struggle against the Batista dictatorship. He was active in the guerrilla struggle in the Escambray mountains. After the revolution, he was named Deputy Minister of Interior in the first revolutionary government and then appointed president of the Federation of University Students. As the main leader in the Cuban student movement, Cubela became well known outside Cuba. After graduating as a physician in 1962, Cubela gave up his student work and was named director of the Manuel Fajardo Hospital in Havana.

## Former Guerrilla

Guin is not so well known. He began his revolutionary career as a guerrilla in the Escambray mountains, serving under Cubela. An engineering agronomist, he became a high official in the National Institute of Agrarian Reform.

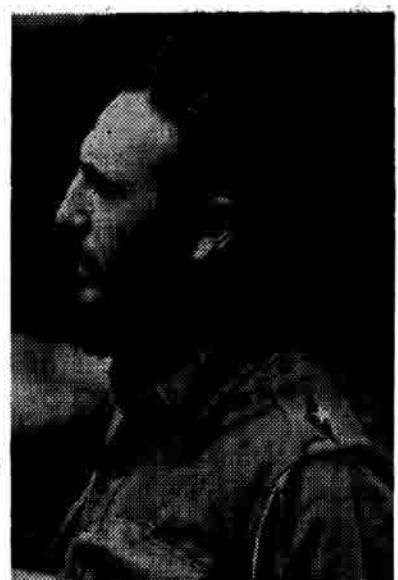
A March 5 communique issued by the Cuban government states that in agreement with the CIA, Cubela planned to shoot Castro with a high-powered rifle equipped with a telescopic sight.

Cuban security agents said they discovered the plot early this year. According to their account Cubela went to Europe in 1964 to attend a student gathering. He stopped in Paris and while there got in touch with two Cuban-born CIA agents named Luis Enrique Treanico and Carlos Tepedino. They in turn put Cubela in touch with other CIA agents in Paris.

Meanwhile in Madrid, Odon Alvarez de la Campa, counsellor of the Cuban embassy there, made contact with two CIA agents in the Spanish capital, Hernan Enriquez and Agustin Alvarez Machado. The counsellor brought along a fellow employee, Jose Luis Gonzalez Gallarreta. A meeting was then arranged between the pair and James A. Noel of the American embassy in Madrid, who gave Odon Alvarez de la Campa \$100,000 to be divided between himself and Gonzalez.

In the next step in this complicated plot, Gonzalez met with Jorge Robreno and Alberto Blanco Romariz, two counterrevolutionary Cuban residents in Madrid. They arranged a meeting in February 1965 between Cubela and the counterrevolutionary Cuban leader Manuel Artime, a prominent figure in the Bay of Pigs invasion.

"During this meeting," the communique asserts [as reported by the March 6 *New York Herald*



Fidel Castro

Tribune, which consistently misspells Cubela's name], "Cubelas and Artime discussed concrete details of the plan to assassinate the Prime Minister and the steps to be taken afterward. They both discussed the roles they would follow subsequently in the country.

"Rolando Cubela demonstrated the importance of the physical elimination of Fidel and that he, Cubela, should be the principal head of the counter-revolution. Manuel Artime offered the technical means and emphasized the enormous support which he had from the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States as well as his relations with various Central American governments and the Organization of American States in general.

"He promised that within 48 hours of the assassination of Comrade Fidel he would disembark in Cuba, supported by the United States and the OAS."

As reported by the *Herald Tribune*, Robreno and Blanco, the two counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles in Madrid, were to infiltrate into Cuba with Artime's help, after Blanco had been "trained" in the Dominican Republic.

Execution of the plot was delayed, according to the prosecution, due to the Dominican civil war and "other" problems. In March 1965 Odon Alvarez de la Campa defected. What happened after that to further delay the plot is either not mentioned in the communique or not included in the reports appearing in the American press.

In view of the gravity of the charges and the prominence of the two main defendants, as well as their political background, the case is obviously a most important one. It will be followed closely by friends and supporters of the Cuban Revolution throughout the world. Full presentation of the evidence in support of the allegations, hard proof that the somewhat bizarre confessions are real, and a full opportunity for the defendants to reply in detail are an absolute requisite.

MARCH 9 — A Reuters dispatch from Havana says that Cuban Premier Fidel Castro intervened into the trial on March 8 to request that the prosecutor not ask for the death sentence for four of the accused seven men.

Castro said that the aim of the revolution was not to eliminate men but to eliminate the vices that give rise to crimes.

The prosecutor then asked for 30-year sentences for the four. He also asked for a 10-year sentence for one of the remaining three defendants, who had originally faced 32 years, and left the sentences of the remaining two up to the court.